

URBAN DEVELOPMENT AND SOCIO-SPATIAL DISPARITIES: A STUDY OF CUTTACK CITY, ODISHA

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ABSTRACT

Urban development in most of its aspects is associated with process and nature of urbanization. People concentrate in urban areas because of availability of choices and livelihood opportunities. Accelerated urbanization has lead to growth of cities and this is accompanied by urban poverty, infrastructural inadequacy, inequalities and degradation in quality of urban life. Odisha is one of the least urbanized states of the country and is emerging a promising state in the contemporary overall development process. However, only a few large cities in the state dominate the urban landscape and socio-economic space. Cuttack is the second largest city of Odisha with more than half-a million population. Historically, it has played a vital role in the different sectors of social life in this eastern state and it remains an important urban centre. City faces unprecedented challenges in terms of urban development. The present study focuses on quality of urban development analyzing living status, peoples' access to basic amenities, nature of disparities and situation of marginalized groups in the Wards of Cuttack Municipal Corporation.

KEYWORDS: Urban Development, Urbanization & Housing Development

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INTRODUCTION

Urban development, in most of its aspects is associated with process and nature of urbanization that influences quality of access to basic amenities and public facilities to the people. Urbanization is a process of social, cultural and economic transformation. This causes creation of urban society. This evolutionary change from rural to urban way of life with the increase in population and population density in a specific geographical area, the characteristics of urban way of life has evolved over time. According to Robert Redfield (1953) an “‘urban society’ is characterized by a large heterogeneous population, close contact with other societies (through trade, communication, etc.), a complex division of labour, a prevalence of secular over sacred concerns, and the desire to organize behaviour rationally toward given goals, as opposed to follow traditional standards and norms”(Cited in Agalgatti, 2008). In 1950, two-third of the population worldwide lived in rural settlements, and around one-third in urban settlements. The urban population of the world has grown rapidly since 1950 from 746 million to 3.9 billion in 2014. As per the 2018 Revision of World Urbanization Prospects, today, 55% of the world’s population lives in urban areas, a proportion that is expected to increase to 68% by 2050.

Urbanization has a close link with the process of rural–urban migration and broadly defined as a process of shifting of rural population to urban centre. This process of people’s drift to and congregation in a particular

geographical space causes growth and expansion of city. This is also a multi-dimensional process of socio-cultural change and therefore difficult to give an all – encompassing and widely applicable definition of urbanization. Urbanization can be divided into three conceptual categories viz. Demographic, Economics and Socio-cultural. Demographic aspect relates to the concentration of population in a particular area leading to increase in its population density and in turn to the development of many other characteristics. The economic aspect refers to the movement of population from agricultural to non-agricultural sectors. Finally, socio-cultural aspect is behavioral and relates to the change in the way of life.

Though urban development in India has a long history, urbanization has begun to accelerate since the dawn of twentieth century and particularly in the post-independence period. This might have been due to multiple factors like demographic, economic and political factors. The level of urbanization has grown up rapidly during the second half of the twentieth century. The State Annual Action Plan of Odisha under AMRUT highlighted that “there has been a steady increase in the country’s urban population over the decades. The population has increased from 26 million in 1901 to 377 million in 2011 and from 10 percent to 31 percent during the same period. India’s urbanization presents a contrasting picture – a large urban population with low urbanization and showing a growth rate of 2.76% per annum during 2001–2011” (see AMRUT Odisha, SAAP 2015-16). Table 1 shows that around 17.3% population of the country lived in urban areas by 1951 which grew to 18.0% in 1961. It further increased to 19.9% by 1971. The urbanization reached to 25.7% by 1991 and 27.8% by 2001. At present, level of urbanization reached to 31.16% as per the Census of India 2011. Estimations of the UN *state of the world population* 2007, the report notes that by 2030, about 40.76% of country’s population is expected to reside in urban areas. There has been a steady increase in the country’s urban population over the decades. The population has been increased in absolute figures from 26 million in 1901 to 377 million in 2011 and from a 10% to 31% level of urbanization. Indian’s urbanization presents a contrasting picture as growth rate is lower – a large urban population with low urbanization with a showing growth rate. The under-developed states – Bihar, Rajasthan, Odisha and Madhya Pradesh have low levels of urbanization but they registered high rates of urban growth. Dhote and Singh states that “India needs to work on several areas to manage its urbanization. The followings are perhaps the most important ones: Inclusive cities, urban governance, funding, planning, capacity building and low-income housing India also needs to start a political process where the urban issues are debated with evolution of meaningful solutions” (2016: 93).

BACKGROUND TO THE STUDY

In the context of urban development in India, a consistent shortfall in the access to the services and their delivery is not an uncommon problem. A report of India Ratings and Research on *Public Finance* highlights the challenges in providing basic services such as “WATER SUPPLY: As per 2011 Census, 70.6% of urban population is covered by individual connection, compared with 91% in China, 86% in South Africa and 80% in Brazil. SANITATION: Even a partial sewerage network is absent in 4861 cities and towns in India. Almost 50% of household in cities like Bangalore and Hyderabad do not have sewerage connections. As per 2011 Census, about 13% of household don’t have access to any form of latrine facility and defecate in the open. PUBLIC TRANSPORT: It accounts for only 27% of urban transport in India’s share of the public transport fleet. AFFORDABLE HOUSING: The Technical Group on the Estimation of Housing Shortage projects the total shortage of dwelling units in urban area in 2012 was estimated to be 18.78% million units” (2015: 4). The urban development faces multi-dimensional crisis. Urban poor and those living in slums face severe crisis and shortages in urban India. Wiebe (1973) in his book on ‘Social Life in an Indian Slum’ describes that the problems of slums in the country are severe. Marked by substandard incomes at best, relatively low rates of literacy, bad housing, insufficient

medical care, inadequate sanitation often extremely poor access to public utilities and malnutrition, slum population often found in appalling physical situations. According to him, a general review of slums characteristics of Madras (now Chennai) immediately reveals that in most respects slums dwellers are considerably worse off than non-slums dwellers. Mohapatra and Singh (2011) in their study entitled “Urban Development and Squatter Eviction in Orissa – A Study of Bhubaneswar City” highlighted that people’s migration from rural areas to urban ones has resulted into propagation of slums in the capital city Bhubaneswar. This also affects socio-cultural and political dimensions of urban community. Nasir and Jamshed (2012) in his study on ‘Development of Health Infrastructure and Disease: A Case Study of Jaipur City, Rajasthan’ observe that social and economic inequalities give birth to inequalities in health. Good health depends on three aspects (i) the outer environment, (ii) the style of living and (iii) health care. Human health is a multifaceted concept. It does not rest merely on the absence of disease but the fulfilment of the entire range of personal, psychological, mental, social and even moral goals. Singh and Abbas (2013) in their article “Assessing the Need for Public Utility Services in the Residential Suburbs: A case study of Aligarh City” analyse how suburban areas are witnessing a spatial transformation. This paper aims to assess whether the development of public utility services (education, health, commercial, social, recreational services etc) in Aligarh city is keeping pace with growth and expansion. The fact is that city faces challenges in providing equal access to basic amenities. Kumar and Rao (2015) in their study on “Sky Booming Urban Slum in Metro Cities of India (Special Reference to Characteristics of Vizag Slum)” tries to analyse that in the last four decades, industrialization attracted a sizable number of people from rural area in search of livelihood settled in a vacant place with lack of civic amenities. Hagn’s study on “Of Slums and Politics in Puri, Odisha”, focuses on the politics, management and citizens role in making slum free cities. This study largely aims at deeply understanding and unraveling politics in localization of slum free scheme with special reference to Puri in Odisha. There is dearth of urban development studies in small cities like Cuttack. This study fills this gap.

OBJECTIVES AND METHODOLOGY

The present study addresses the following major research objectives: a) to study the trends in urbanization, nature of urban development and urban marginalization in the state of Odisha; b) to analyse and find out level of development across the wards of Cuttack Municipal Corporation (CMC); and c) to examine linkages between level of ward-level disparities and existence of marginalized groups in CMC. Proposed study is descriptive-analytical-empirical in nature. The research methodology includes a blend of extensive review of literature on the urban development and access to basic amenities. This study is largely based on the use of secondary source of data on demographic and aspects of urban development such as Census of India. For an in-depth understating, Cuttack city is selected as a case for the present research in order to analyze ward level development and disparities between them. For the assessment of level of urban development and access to basic amenities across the 54 wards of Cuttack Municipal Corporation, data on select indicators are collected and derived from the Census of India 2011 and District Census Handbook, Cuttack 2011. There are three main aspects: (1) Literacy, (2) Housing Conditions, and (3) Household Access to Basic Amenities. The following are major indicators: (i) Ward Level Literacy Percentage, (ii) Ward Level Percentage of Good Houses, (iii) Ward Level Percentage of Livable Houses, (iv) Ward Level Percentage of Dilapidated Houses, (v) Ward Level Percentage of Treated Water, (vi) Ward Level Percentage of Electricity, and (vii) Ward Level Percentage of Sanitation Facility. To determine the overall levels of development and its uneven distribution in the study area, the data of the all indicators have been transformed into indices using Z-score technique. The formula is

$$Z_i = \frac{X_i - \bar{X}}{SD} \quad (1)$$

Where:

Z_i = Standard score of the i th observation,

X_i = Actual value of the i th observation,

\bar{X} = Mean of the value of X variable

SD = Standard deviation of X variable

The results of the standard score obtained for different indicators, are aggregated by composite standard score (CSS) so that ward-level disparities in the levels of development are obtained on a mean and standard deviation scale. The composite score may be algebraically expressed as

$$CSS = \frac{\sum Z_{ij}}{N} \quad (2)$$

Where:

CSS = Composite Standard Score,

Z_{ij} = Z-score of an indicator j in ward i ,

N = Number of indicators.

URBANIZATION AND URBAN DEVELOPMENT IN ODISHA

Odisha, located in eastern part of India along the coast of Bay of Bengal, is one of the least urbanized states having uneven development, widespread poverty, inequality and gender gaps. Odisha shows a poor performance in the level of urbanization and its growth rate. In 1901, around 2.47% of the total population was living in urban areas of Odisha. There was a decline in urbanization during the next decade and but by 1921 the percent of urban population was 2.5. As per 1941 census only 3% of total population of Odisha lived in cities and towns as against 13.86% of national average of the country. The percentage of urban population has been low in Odisha. Pace of urbanization in the state during 1951–2011, was observed low compared to the pattern of the country as a whole. However, highest growth rate was registered in 1961 and but from 1971 onwards there has been declining till now as shown in the table 1. In 2011 Census, the proportion of population living in the urban areas of Odisha stood at 16.68% as compared to 31.16% for the country. This is roughly half-of national average figures. Interestingly, the 2011 Census shows that the density of overall population of the State is 270 persons per sq. km. which means it is very sparsely populated as compared to closeby state West Bengal (1,028 persons per sq. km.). This shows that there is not much population pressure in general.

Among all the districts of Odisha, the Khordha district is most urbanized with 42.93 percent urban population followed by Jharsuguda (36.40 percent) and Sundargarh (34.38 percent). The proportion of urban population is lowest in Nayagarh with 4.29% followed by Jajpur with 4.49 percent, Boudh (4.82 percent) and Nuapada (5.66 percent). However, Odisha ranks 31st in the list of most urbanized states of the country by the latest census. Among the major towns Bhubaneswar has the maximum population of 6, 47,302 followed by Cuttack (5, 35,139 population) and Berhampur

(289724 population). In terms of share of cities population with total urban population of the state, Bhubaneswar shares 13.28 percent followed by Cuttack 10.98 percent and Berhampur 5.94 percent.

Some of the important unavoidable problems of urbanization in Odisha include: urban sprawl, overcrowding, housing, unemployment, slums and squatter settlements, water and sewerage problems and transport etc. Odisha has an estimated poverty rate of 39.2% (see, Planning Commission of India, 2012), and the distribution of poverty reflects the social and spatial contours of inequality. In fact, Schedule Tribes and Scheduled Castes are poorer than the other social groups. Odisha has witnessed a rapid development and changes in its socio-economic, political and cultural spheres for last two decades. By 2030, over 40% population will be residing in urban areas as projected by the government. Urban development means provision for, access to basic amenities and infrastructure in the towns and cities. Development attempts to reduce poverty and inequality in effort to move towards betterment and improvement over time. Figure 1 shows trends in percentage of urban population in Odisha over the past decades. The level of urbanization has increased consistently in the state as there has been a 12 points growth between 1951 and 2011.

Table 1: Showing Trends of Urbanization and Urban Growth in Odisha

Census Year	Total Number of Towns	Total Urban Population	Percentage of Urbanization	Decadal Growth (%)
1901	14	254,684	2.47	-
1911	18	275,159	2.42	8.04
1921	20	281,498	2.52	2.30
1931	21	317,254	2.54	12.70
1941	29	412,528	3.00	30.03
1951	39	594,070	4.06	44.01
1961	62	1,109,650	6.32	86.79
1971	81	1,845,395	8.41	66.30
1981	108	3,110,287	11.79	68.54
1991	124	4,234,983	13.38	36.16
2001	138	5,496,318	14.97	29.78
2011	223	7,003,656	16.68	26.91

Source: Census of India, 2001 & 2011

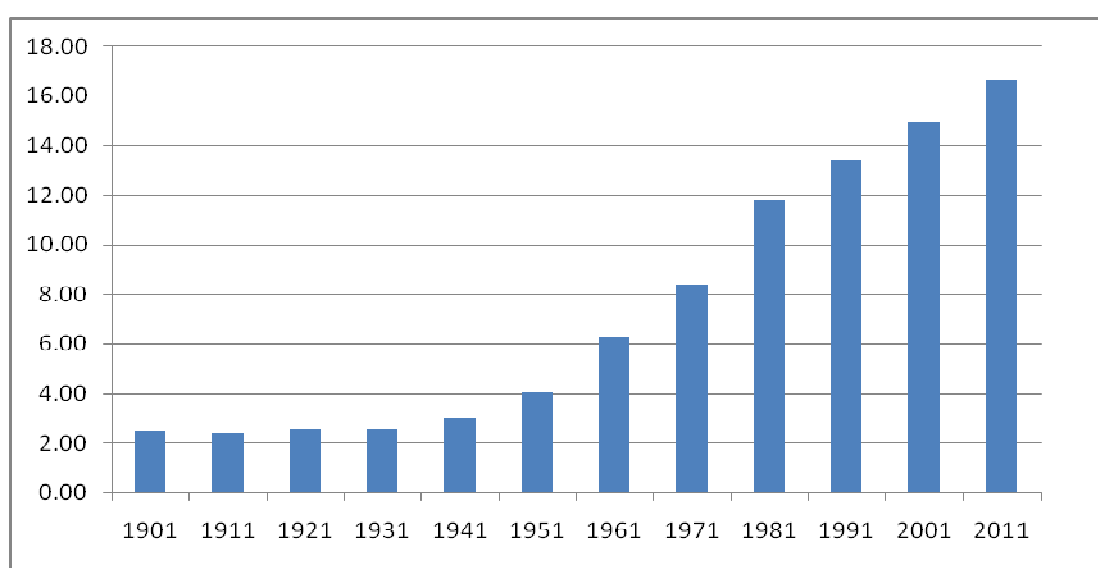


Figure 1: Showing Trends in Level of Urbanization in Odisha.

Source: Census of India, 2001 & 2011

URBAN POVERTY IN ODISHA

The latest poverty headcount ratio estimates given out by the *Tendulkar Committee* poses a new worry for Odisha. Though, urban poverty in the State shows a sign of decline over the past few years. Urban poverty headcount ratio for 1993–1994 was around 34 per cent which moved up by over 3 per cent to 37.6 per cent in 2004–2005 and has come down to 25.9% by 2009–2010 (shown in Table 2). However, Odisha is much better than other BIMARU states like Bihar (39.4%) and Uttar Pradesh (31.7%). States Madhya Pradesh and Rajasthan have much lower than both national average and Odisha. Urban poverty being a multifaceted phenomenon, it manifests itself not only in nutritional deficiency but also in other forms and models like growth of slums and informal sector, increasing marginalization and urban poor accessibility of urban basic services. The rate of decline in poverty ratio is comparatively much lower in Odisha than the national average, posing a threat to its social and economical conditions. According to Dhal “the economic growth rate is consistent and remains higher than national average. Overall poverty has come down from 57% in 2004–2005 to 37% in 2009–2010” (2013: 32). Poverty persists and continues to be the most intractable problem for the state.

Table 2: Urban Poverty in Major States of India 2004–05 & 2009–10

Major States	Poverty Rate (Poor as % of Population) in Urban Areas in 2004-05	Number of Poor People in Urban Areas in 2004-05 (in millions)	Poverty Rate (Poor as % of Population) in Urban Areas in 2009-10	Number of Poor People in Urban Areas in 2009-10 (in millions)
Andhra Pradesh	23.4	5.5	17.7	4.8
Assam	21.8	0.8	26.1	1.1
Bihar	43.7	4.2	39.4	4.4
Chhattisgarh	28.4	1.3	23.8	1.3
Gujarat	20.1	4.2	17.9	4.4
Jharkhand	23.8	1.6	31.1	2.4
Karnataka	25.9	5.1	19.6	4.4
Madhya Pradesh	35.1	6.1	22.9	4.4
Maharashtra	25.6	11.4	18.3	9
Odisha	37.6	2.2	25.9	1.7
Rajasthan	29.7	4.3	19.9	3.3
Tamil Nadu	19.7	5.9	12.8	4.3
Uttar Pradesh	34.1	13	31.7	13.7
West Bengal	24.4	6	22	6.2
All-India	25.5	81.4	20.9	76.4

Source: Planning Commission Data accessed at <http://www.indiaspend.com>

As per the 2001 Census, total urban population in Odisha stood at 54.96 lakh, of which the number of slum dwellers was 6.35 lakh constituting 11.55% of the total urban population. According to Primary Census Abstract, 2011, slum population of Odisha is about 15.6 lakh which accounts for 22.27% of the total urban population. According to the 2011 census of India, population of Cuttack City is 606,007. Nearly 35% of Cuttack’s six lakh citizens live in the slums. But when it comes to basic civic facilities like sanitation, the administration always tends to forget them. There are 309 slums in the city out of which at least 200 are authorized ones, while the remaining 109 are unauthorized slums. According to Cuttack Municipal Corporation officials, over two lakh people reside in these slums. The dwellers live in extremely poor sanitary condition.

According to National Family Health Survey-3 (2005–2006), more than 15 percent of the urban households of Odisha did not have access to ‘improve’ or safe drinking water sources, which is much higher than the national figures.

Sekher notes that “only about 30 percent of urban households got a piped water supply through private connections, while 27 percent had tube-wells. Nearly 21 percent depended on public sources like a public tap/stand pipe. The state is equally stressed in terms of availability of sanitation services to urban households” (2015:143). NFHS survey reveals that around 52 percent of urban households do not have access to ‘improved sanitation facilities’ in the state of Odisha. Another 41 percent urban households are devoid of any sanitation facility and mostly are used to open defecation. In a perspective on urban slums, Satapathy writes that “Some existing policies impede universal coverage of safe drinking water supply in slums. One of the major reasons for the absence of tap water within the premises of the house in slums is due to insistence on providing valid ownership certificates by the departments responsible for drinking water supply in urban areas’ (Op. Cit.: 51).

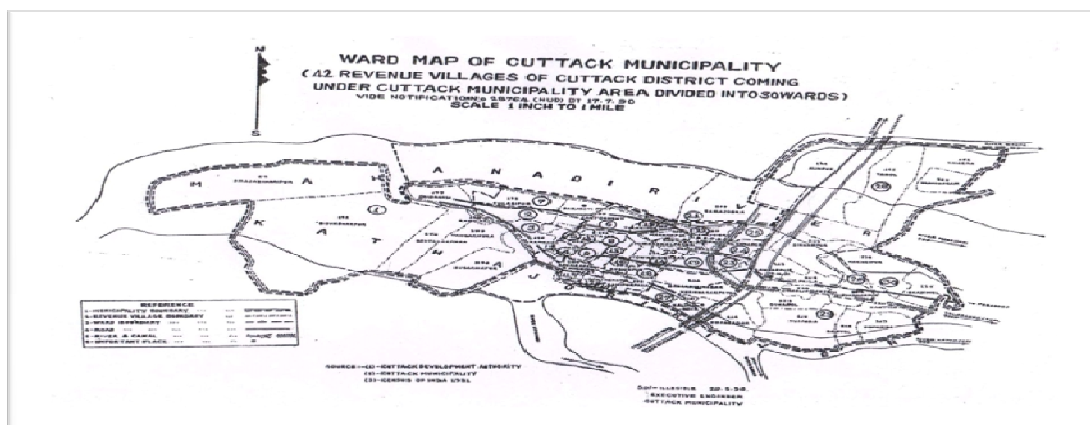
CUTTACK CITY: POPULATION TRENDS

Cuttack is one of the oldest and major cities and the former Capital of the state of Odisha. City is located at 20°31'23"N 85°47'17"E and has an average elevation of 36 m. Cuttack experiences a tropical wet and dry climate. The summer season is from March to June when the climate is hot and humid. The temperature around this season is 35°C to 40°C. Thunderstorms are common at the height of the summer. For the purpose of study, Cuttack city here means the area within Cuttack Municipal Corporation (CMC). The CMC was established as a municipality on 04 June, 1876. It was renamed as a Corporation on 15 August, 1994. The total geographical area of Cuttack Municipal Corporation is 192.5 km² spreading over 54 Municipal Wards. According to the 2011 Census of India, population of Cuttack City was 606,007. The city stretches from Phulnakhara in south to Choudwar in north and Kandarpur in east to Naraj in west, while main city is located at the apex of the Mahanadi River delta. Apart from Mahanadi, four of its distributaries also run through the city. Cuttack housed a population of 159,786 in 1961. This grew to 195,068 by 1971 with a record of 21% decadal growth rate. The decadal growth rate in city population was recorded highest in 1971–81 reaching at 52%. There has been a rapid decline in the growth rate over the decades coming down to 37% in 1991 and 32% in 2001. The population growth rate is further declined to 14% during 2001–2011 as shown in table 3. At a broader level, the reasons for consistent decline in population growth rate are decrease in migration rate, little scope for physical expansion of the city and rapid growth in the capital city located to the south west of Cuttack.

Table 3: Showing Trends in Urban Population in CMC

Census Year	Population	Decadal Growth Rate (%)
1961	1,59,786	-
1971	1,94,068	21
1981	2,94,966	52
1991	4,03,418	37
2001	5,35,139	32
2011	610,189	14

Source: Calculated from each Census Years



Map 1: Showing Cuttack City Core and Peripheral Areas

Source: S. N. Sarangi in *Cuttack: One Thousand Years*, 1990 in Behera et al.

As per the Census 2011, the Hinduism is majority religion in Cuttack city with 89.65% followers. Islam is second most popular religion in the city with approximately 8.23% following it. Christianity is followed by 1.36%, Jainism by 0.18%, Sikhism by 0.12% and Buddhism by 0.12%. Around 0.02% stated 'Other Religion' and approximately 0.43% stated 'No Particular Religion'.

URBAN DEVELOPMENT DISPARITIES IN CUTTACK

Since present study aims to assess the ward-level development and disparities of Cuttack city, three key indicators – literacy, housing and basic amenities are selected as best representative of micro-level urban development. There is a considerable variation in all three indicators across the Wards of CMC. The highest literacy is in Ward no 17 and lowest in 34. Housing in 'good condition' is highest in Ward no 39 and lowest in 36. Livable housing is highest in Ward 47 and lowest in 39, whereas housing in dilapidated condition is highest in Ward 34 and lowest in 28 and 48. Household having access to treat drinking water is highest in Ward no 29 and lowest in 54. So far as access to electricity is concerned, the highest is in Ward 8 and 21, whereas access to sanitation is highest in Ward no 28 and lowest in 52 and 53.

In order to obtain a Composite Development Index, Z-score value is calculated. In statistical analysis, a Z-score is the distance between the raw score of the individual and the (population) mean measured in units of standard deviation. A z-score is a numerical measurement of a value's relationship to the mean in a group of values. If a Z-score is 0, it represents the score is identical to the mean score. Through Z-score, here an attempt is being made to examine the level of urban development based on the select indicators for the wards of CMC. The fifty four wards are grouped into five groups and in five ranges according to their values as mentioned: Very Low (below 4.06%), Low (4.07–6.56%), Medium (6.57–7.32%), High (7.33–8.24%) and Very High (above 8.25%) of composite values shown in the table 4 and spatial distribution is shown in the Map 3.

Table 4: Composite Development Index for the Select Indicators

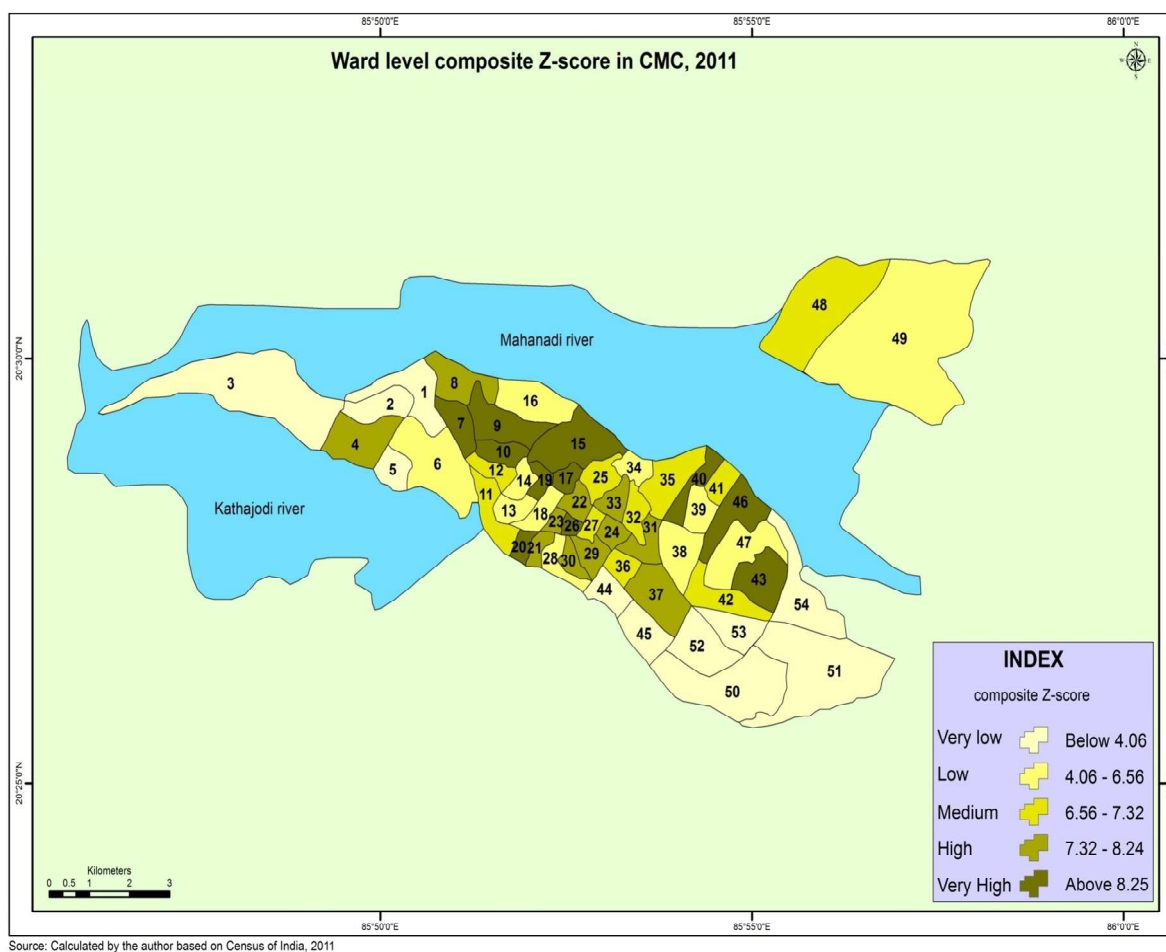
Range	Ward Group	Ward-level Range Value	Municipal Ward Numbers, CMC
Very Low	11	< 4.06	44,53,52,54,45,51,2,50,1,3,5
Low	11	4.06–6.56	34,14,6,38,39,49,47,13,28,18,16
Medium	10	6.56–7.32	48,32,27,25,35,41,36,11,12,42
High	11	7.32–8.24	23,37,21,33,29,8,4,24,22,31,30
Very High	11	>8.25	43,20,19,10,9,46,40,26,15,7,17

Source: Calculated by the Author

Very low level development is found in the following wards: 44, 53, 52, 54, 45, 51, 2, 50, 1, 3, 5. The major localities are Bidanasi, Kumbharasahi, Harijan Sahi, Tareni Vihar, Laxmi Vihar, Jyoti Vihar, Satabdi Vihar, CDA Sector – 10, 11, 12, 13, 14 & 15, Nuasahi, CMC Colony, Jagannath Lane, Arunodaya Nagar, Khannagar, Poparada, Kantilo, Bagulapada, Beleswar, Tinigharia, Rajendra Nagar, Kaji Diha, Darakhapatana, Kalyan Nagar, Andarpur, Sastri Nagar, Bidyadharpur, Potapokhari, Gandhi Palli, Mahima Nagar, Goutam Nagar, Neheru Palli, etc.

Low level of development is in wards no 34, 14, 6, 38, 39, 49, 47, 13, 28, 18, 16. These wards consists of major localities such as CDA Sector-6, Sector-1, Sector-2, Dobandi Basti, Satichoura, Darjee Sahi, Kali Gali, Mehendipur, Gopal Sahi, Khatbin Sahi, Fakir Sahi, Cantonment, Bauri Sahi, Chunbhati Gali, Nrusinghanath Matha, Hajari Lane, Bangali Sahi, Matha Sahi, Mallah Sahi, Nuapatana, Bania Sahi, Tripathy Lane, Gandarpur, Bahar Bisinabar, Malgodown Behera Sahi, Dasa Sahi, Pareswar Sahi, Barafakala Road, Yunus Patana, Mahanadi Vihar, etc. Medium level of development is found in the wards 48, 32, 27, 25, 35, 41, 36, 11, 12, 42. The major localities are Gopal Sahi, Brahman Sahi, Barik Sahi, Chandinichowk, Darpani Rani Kothi, Chasa Sahi, Kafla Fandi Area, Mohanty Pada, Kafla Harijan Sahi, Bana Bagicha, Cantonment, Mirkamala Patana, Town Bisinabar, Makhanpur, Balibhagat Road, Nagna Lane, New Rausapatna, Rausapatna, Kukuriapada, Balisahi, Mangalabag Gouda Sahi, Sikari Sahi, Medical Behera Sahi, Duck Road, Mochi Sahi, Dasa Sahi, Shankarpur Barik Sahi, Diha Sahi, Bisinabar, Municipal Colony, Pareswar Sahi, Jobra Mallha Sahi, Raheman Chhak, Matia Mangala, Chauliaganj Thatari Sahi, Patara Sahi, Jagatpur, Najarpur, Sikaripur, Laxmanpur, Fakirpur, etc.

High level of development value is found in ward no. 23, 37, 21, 33, 29, 8, 4, 24, 22, 31, 30. The localities are CDA Sector-8 & 9, Ring Road Basti, Chahata Nagar, Tanlasahi, Nandi Sahi Road, Keuta Sahi, Nandi Sahi, Jhola Sahi, Haripur, Samanta Sahi, Jhanjirimangala Lunia Sahi, Harekrushna Nagar, Labour Colony, Ranihat Teli sahi, Sagadia sahi, Kabar Sthan, Ucha Sahi, Thoria Sahi, Gamhadia, Thoriasahi, Nayak Sahi, Dasa Sahi, Shankarpur Barik Sahi, Diha Sahi, and Bisinabar. Very high level of development is in wards are 43, 20, 19, 10, 9, 46, 40, 26, 15, 7, 17. The major localities are Mahatab Nagar, Deulasahi, Dhoba Sahi, Srivihar Colony, Stewart Patana, Kanika Rajbati, Mathasahi, Sidheswar Sahi, Sutahat, Baharnal, Barik sahi, Palit pada, Bakharabad, Mission Road, Pension Lane, Pattapole, Sutahat Tanti Sahi, Nimasahi, Harijan Sahi, Kumbharsahi, Kathagadasahi, Barafakala Road, Anand Vihar, Kaibalya Vihar, Niladri Vihar, Jogelkar Colony, Gandarpur, etc. Drawing from the Map 1, whole city can be divided into following zones: western, core and eastern (east of NH-5) and northern zone (see Appendix 3). Western (1, 2, 35,) and Eastern (50, 51, 52, 53, 54) margins depict very low level of development. Some wards in core (13, 14, 18, 28, 34) depict low level of development. Rest of the core has medium to high and very high level of development. High and very level of development is associated with existence of good infrastructure and maximum access to basic amenities. Prime locations like Cantonment, Buxi Bazaar, Manglabagh, etc are located here. Most of posh residential areas are located here. This pattern shows that core and north-western parts of the city are highly developed than peripheral parts of Cuttack. The peripheral parts are developed in the last few years and they largely contain rural areas well.



Map 2: Showing Level of (Urban) Development in Cuttack Municipal Corporation

LEVEL OF DEVELOPMENT AND MARGINALIZED GROUPS

Of the total population of Cuttack city, 11.57% are Scheduled Castes (SCs) and 1.51% Scheduled Tribes (STs) which are marginalized social groups of the society. These marginalized social groups witness a fragmented spread all over the city. However, they are also found in concentration in pockets across fifty four wards of the CMC. In some of the wards there is a high concentration of marginalized groups. Compared to STs, the percentage figures for SCs vary from lowest 1.94% (Ward 21) to highest 38.42% (Ward 34) in the wards of CMC. This means that social groups, both SCs and STs, show a socially compact but spatially fragmented pattern. In order to establishing a link between the level of development and existence of the marginalized social groups in the wards, the linkages are imperative. There seems a formidable relationship between the level of development and marginal groups.

Those wards which depict a very high level of development, as per composite z-score value, do have a significant proportion of marginalized social groups such as SCs and STs. This study reveals the fact that a disparity in the level of development is, by and large, determined by the existence of marginalized social groups and their status. The case of Cuttack city shows that very low level of development has high proportion of marginalized social groups and vice verse. Very low of development in this study is based on selected indicators such as literacy, housing conditions, and access to basic amenities in the wards. Very and low level of development is associated with very high and high proportion of marginalized social groups in these wards. Simultaneously, high and very high level of development in wards (i.e. ward no.

23, 4, 24, 31, 30 & 9, 40, 7,) is also associated with non-existence of marginalized social groups. This means that mainstream population is in much better living condition than the marginalized social groups in Cuttack. As per the Map 2, peripheral parts in the east and the west witness a very low and low level of development. The point is a larger proportion of STs and SCs is found in these peripheral wards. These peripheral parts have come up in recent years. In fact some of the planned residential colonies are also there like CDA in the west and Mahanadi Vihar in the east showing a higher level of development. Rests of the parts in the peripheral areas are inhabited by the rural-viallges, migrants, labours, construction workers and informal settlements. Routary and Pradhan (1989) noted that “the phenomenon of urbanization and the problem of slums and squatters or the settlements of lower-income groups are superimposed over one another and cannot be separated from each other or viewed in isolation”. The wards with lower development have higher number of slums and the people belonging to marginal or subaltern communities.

CONCLUSIONS

Cuttack is a compact urban centre. The core of the city is highly developed followed by a few wards in peripheral are in the west. Lower level of development is found in those areas of the city which are largely in the peripheral parts both in the western and eastern zones. They have been traditionally rural in their character but due process of time they are being engulfed within the city municipal boundary. These are the areas where high incidence of slums and poor people reside in the city. Since physical constraints determine the growth and expansion of Cuttack as river flows parallel on both sides, the lower level of developed in witnessed by the poor localities (low lying areas and slums) across the city. The ward-level disparities are also associated with locations of marginalized social groups. Those wards which depict higher level of development do have a significant proportion of marginalized social groups. This means that most of such groups are engaged in informal jobs and their living conditions are not better off. Wards with lower level of development have a higher proportion of marginalized social groups in the city. The lower level of development and existence of marginalized social groups in the wards is accompanied by the fact that most of these people are found in slums and squatter settlements and live in degraded environment. However, a further critical spatial research is needed to venture into nature of marginalities and livings of disadvantageous groups in the growing cities like Cuttack.

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